A discouerie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme, by *Francis Throckmorton*, who was for the same arraigned and condemned in *Guyld Hall, in the Citie of London*, the one and twentie day of May last past.

1584.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

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To the Reader.

HEre is in this short discourse deliuered vnto thee (gentle reader) a true report of the treasons and practises of *Francis Throckmorton*, & his complices against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme: which comming to my handes by chance from a gentleman, to whom it was sent into the Country, I haue presumed to comit the same to the print, to the ende that such as in opinion and conceite are not satisfied, touching the matters proued against him, and the course of proceeding holde with him, might by the sight thereof (if truth and reason may perswade them) bee resolued of all such doubtes and scruple as haue risen by the variable reportes made of the qualitie of his offences, and the maner of dealing vsed towards him: for the better knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the declaration following, and so commit thee to God.

A letter sent from a gentleman of Lions Inne to his friend, concerning *Francis Throckmorton*, who was arraigned and condemned of high Treason.

SIr, with my last letters of the first of Iune, I sent vnto you in writing the arraignment of Francis Throckmotton, *penned by a gentleman of good skill and credite, being present at the same, which (as I hope) is truely penned: but there is some scruple in your conceite touching the sufficiencie of the euidence produced against him; I haue for your better satisfaction endeuoured to attaine to more particular knowledge thereof, and by the meanes of a secret friend, there is come vnto my hands a perfect declaration of the whole proceedings held by him before the commissioners, the manner of his behauiour at his arraignment, the materiall pointes of the treasons by him confessed, wherevnto there is annexed a submission written by* Francis Throckmorton *to the Queenes Maiestie, the fourth of Iune, wherein he acknowledgeth that he hath vntruely and vndutifully denied his former confessions, & vnder his owne hand writing hath eftsoones repeated and confessed the same confessions to be true (some fewe things onely detracted, but of no moment:) which may in mine opinion remoue all matter of doubt or scruple conceiued by you or by any other of his iust condemnation. You know how well I haue alwayes loued the man, and delighted to conuerse with him in respect of the good partes wherewith he was indued, and of the pleasant humour that for the most part did possesse him when hee came in companie of friendes, yeelding at no time (to my seeing) any shew or suspition, to haue bene a dealer in matters of that qualitie: & therefore I cannot but pitie his misfortune the more, wishing all men to make profite of his fal, and to note, that miserie and calamitie of this kinde, doeth for the most part followe such as forget God, to whose protection I committe you. From Lyons Iune, the 15 of Iune. 1584.*

Your assured friend. Q. Z.

A true and perfect declaration of the Treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckemorton, late of London, against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme.

WHereas there haue bene very lewde and slaunderous bruites and reportes giuen out of late, and order & proceedings held with *Francis Throckmorton* lately arraigned and condemned of high treason at the Guildhall in London the xiii. day of May last, whereby such as are euill affected toward her Maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue indeuoured falsely and iniuriously to charge her Maiestie and her faithfull ministers with crueltie, and iniustice vsed against the said *Throckmorton*, by extorting from him by torture, such confessions as he hath made against himself, and by inforcing the same to make them lawful euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified. Albeit her Maiesties subiects in general, tending to mindes milde and temperate, cannot but hold all the time of her most happie Reigne, might rather impute her clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sories of offenders as a kinde of fault, then to taxe her with the contrarie: yet such as allowe of practises and treasons against her Maiestie, do alwayes interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that do possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forsomuch as the case of *Throckmorton* at this time, hath bene subiected vnto their sinister constructions, and considering that lies and false bruites cast abroad are most commonly beleeued, and ordinarily be controlled by

the trueth: it hath bene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said *Throckemorton* against her Maiestie & the Realme, by him confessed before his arraignement, whereby her Maiestie was iustly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceiue what course hath bene holde with him by her Commissioners to bring him to confesse the trueth: with what impudencie and how falsely he hath denied his sayings and confessions: And lastly, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons sithens his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie her Maiestie, and to shew the reasons that mooued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which may in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lies and vntruthes alreadie spred and deliuered, in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maiestie, that he was a priuie conuicour and receiuour of letters to and from the Scottish Queene, vpon which information neuertheless diuers monethes were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answere the matter, to the end there might some proofe more apparant be had to charge him therewith: which shortly after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his house in London, and at Lensham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certaine gentlemen of moderate credit and reputation: of whom, two were sent to his house by Poules wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conueyed presently away; the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might giue proofe of his suspected practises. In that search, there were found the two papers contai-

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ning the names of certaine Catholique Noblemen and gentlemen, expreſſing the Hauens for landing of forraine forces, with other particularities in the ſaid papers mentioned, the one written in the Secretarie hand, (which he at the Barre confeſſed to be his owne hand writing) and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not ſhewe how the ſame came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinatiõs he hath confeſſed them both to be his owne hand writing, and ſo they are in trueth. There were alſo found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrees of the diſcent of the Crowne of England, printed and publiſhed by the Biſhop of Roſſe, in the defence of the pretended title of the Scottiſh Queene his Miſtreſſe, with certaine infamous libelles againſt her Maieſtie printed & publiſhed beyond the ſeas: which being found in the hands of a man ſo euill affected, comparing the ſame with his doings and practiſes againſt her Maieſtie, you wil iudge the purpoſe wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehenſion, hee was examined by ſome of her Maieſties priuie counſell, how he came by the ſaid two papers of the Hauens, and he moſt impudently denied with many proteſtations that he neuer ſawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were foiſted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that ſearched his houſe: Notwithſtanding being more earneſtly preſſed to confeſſe the trueth, he ſayd they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the Realme, named *Edward Rogers, alias Nuttebie*, by whome they were written. And to make this deuice to carie ſome colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower, hee found the meanes to get three Cardes, on the backeſide of which Cardes he wrote to his brother *George Throckmorton* to this effect: *I haue bene examined by whom the two papers, conteining the names of certaine Noblemen and gentlemen, and of Hauens &c. were written: and I haue alle-*

ged them to haue bene written by Edward Nutteby my man, of whose hand writing you knowe them to be: Meaning by this deuice to haue had his brother cõfirme his falsehode. These Cardes were intercepted, and thereby the suspition before conceiued of his practises increased, whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bin sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Maiesties most honorable priuie counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable maner, to confesse the trueth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he woulde bewray the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, her Maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of her Royal person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of her learned counsel and others her faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assay by torture to drawe from him the trueth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the inuading of the Realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done by way of persuasion, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsually appointed in the Towre to handle the Racke, by whom he was layd vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or any other time bene ministred vnto him with that violence that hee and his fauourers haue indeuoured slaunderously to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his limmes for manie yeeres. At this first time of torture, hee would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the trueth. The second time that hee was put to the Racke, before hee was strayned vp to any purpose, hee yeelded to confesse any thing

hee knewe, in the matters obiected against him: whereupon he was loosed, and then the Commissioners proceeded with him according to such Interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more brauitie shall here bee omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onely to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said *Francis Throckemorton* aswell before as sithens his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by her Maiesties Commissioners appointed to that seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discouer by whome the plottes of the Hauens were sette downe, and to what purpose, he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the Countrie of *Liege* certaine yeres past, he entred into conference with one Ienney a notorious knowen Traitor, touching the altering of the state of the Realme here, & how the same might be attempted by forraine inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with *Sir Francis Englefield* in the low Countreys, who daily solicited the Spanish king in Spaine, & his Gouernours in the said Countreyes, to attempt the inuading of the Realme, continued a course of practising against her Maiestie and the state, by letters betweene *Sir Francis Englefielde* and himselfe, vntill within these two yeres last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint *Sir Iohn Throckemorton* his late father with his traiterous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him frō any further medling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, he vsed his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the Hauens for the landing of forces, which he concelued and put in writing onely by view of the Mappe, and not by particular sight or surueye of the said

said Hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene *Sir Francis Englefield* and him, he was made acquainted by his brother *Thomas Throckemorton*, by letters & coference, and by *Thomas Morgan* by letters (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederats in France and in other forreine partes, and also in Englande, for the inuading of the Realme.

That the *Duke of Guyse* should be the principal leader and executer of that inuasion.

That the *pretention* (which shoulde be publiquely notified) should be to deliuer the Scottish Queene to libertie, and to procure euen by force from the Queenes Maiestie, a tolerance in religion for ỹ pretended Catholiques: But the *intention*, (the bottome whereof should not at ỹ first be made knowen to all men) shoulde be vpon the Queenes Maiesties resistance, to remooue her Maiestie from her Crowne and state.

That the *Duke of Guyse* had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioyne with the forraine forces, and a third thing, how to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For, ỹ first thing wanting, *viz.* money, messengers were sent from forraine parts both to Rome & Spaine, & their returne daily expected to their liking: And the Spanish Ambassador to encourage the English to ioyne both in purse and person, did giue out, that the King his Master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the seconde thing, *viz.* the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioyne with the forraine forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer

into England in August last, vnder a counterfaite name from the confederates in France, to signifie the platte and preparation there, and to sollicite the same here.

That *Thomas Throckmorton* his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England, and that thereupon *Francis Throckmorton* tooke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederates in Englande, with the helpe of the Spanish Ambassadour, whom he instructed howe and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie heere within the Realme, for that himselfe woulde not be seene to be a sounder of men, lest hee might be discouered, and so endanger himselfe & the enterprise, knowing that the Ambassadour being a publique person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the *Duke of Guyse* and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made speciall choise of Sussex, and about Arundel in Sussex, both for the neere euen from the parts of Fraunce, where the *Duke* did or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That hee, taking vpon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish Ambassador, who did incourage him therein, he promising, that if hee might haue respite vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That at the time of *Thomas Throckmortons* being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie might faile in the only hand of one man *Thomas Throckmorton*, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, *Charles Paget*, vnder the name of *Harpe alias Spring*, and thereof an aduertisement couertly sent to *Thomas Throckmorton*, both that Thomas might vnderstande it, and not be offended that another was ioyned with him in his labour.

That the Spanish Ambassadour by aduertisements from the

the confederates, was made priuie to this comming of *Charles Paget* vnder the name of *Mope*, and yet knowen to him to be *Charles Paget*.

That the said Ambassadour did according to his sayde aduertisements, knowe and affirme that *Charles Paget* was come ouer to view the hauens and Countrey for landing of such forraine forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certaine principall persons for assistance.

The same Ambassadour also knewe and affirmed, that *Charles Paget* had accordingly done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons heere, according to his commission, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confessed that there was a deuice betweene the Spanish Ambassadour and him, howe such principall Recusants here within the Realme as were in the Commission of the peace in sundrie Counties, might vpon the first bruite of the landing of forraine forces, vnder colour and vse of their authorities and the defence of her Majestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraine forces, and conferre them against her Maiestie.

In these fewe articles is briefly compiled the whole effect of his confession made at large without any Interrogatories particularly minuted, other than vpon the two points before mentioned, concerning the dangers of the hauens. And heere you are to note that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them, but only an information and suspition deliuered & conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scottish Queene, as is before mentioned. For the discouering whereof, after he had bene sundrie times vpon his allegiaunce commanded to declare his doings in conueying and receiuing of letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confesse that hee had written diuers letters vnto her, and had conueyed many

to and fro, betweene her & *Thomas Morgan* in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowe vnto her, & that he had receiued as many letters from her. Hee also declared the effect of his letters to her, & of hers to him: which letters betweene them were alwaies written in Cipher, and the Cipher with the Nullities and markes for names of Princes and Counsailors, hee sent vnto the Queenes Maiestie written with his owne hand. Hee also deliuered the names of some, by whom hee conueyed his letters to the Scottish Queene, as by one *Godfrey Fulgeam*, who fled the Realme immediatly vpon *Throckmortons* apprehension, and one other person, whom he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man sithens apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the mans name is *William Ardington*.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were at the time of his arraignement opened and dilated by her Maiesties Sergeant, Attorney, and Sollicitor generall at the barre, and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated heere, yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient proofe, that the matters contained in his said confessions, are neither false nor fayned (as *Francis Throckmorton* most impudently affirmed at his triall, alleadging that they were meere inuentions of himselfe by policie to auoyde the torture) they haue bene here inserted, to the ende you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances folowing, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequently see the falsehoode of the Traitor, the iust and honourable proceedings of her Maiestie, and the honest and loyall endeuours of her Ministers imployed in the discouering of the treasons.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spawe about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with Ienney in that place, and with Sir *Francis Englefield* in Flaunders, and that he hath written letters

to Sir *Francis*, and receiued letters from him: for if he should denie the same, he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath him noted in him by many of his countrey men English subiects, that both in those parties and in Fraunce, hee did continually associate him selfe with English Rebels and Fugitiues. If then you consider with whom he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you wil iudge of his conuersation accordingly: and it is to be supposed, that those men, knowen to be continuall practisers against the Queenes Maiestie and this Realme, from whence for their Treasons and vnnaturall demeanures they are worthily banished, will not in their conuenticles and meetings forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and howe they might be restored to their countrey, whereunto no desert in her Maiesties life time (which God long continue) can wel (without her Maiesties great mercie) restore them. Then I pray you what conferences might *M. Throckemorton* haue with Sir *Francis Englefield*, with *Iennye*, with *Liggons*, with *Owen*, and with such like, who were his daily companions in Fraunce and in the Low countreis? He hath written letters to Sir *Francis Englefield*: to what purposes? he haunted continually two Ambassadors in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas daily. To whom, and from whom? euen to and from *Thomas Morgan*, and *Thomas Throckemorton* at Paris, men knowen to her Maiestie and her Counsell, to be notorious practisers, very inward with the Duke of Guyse, and contriuers of the Treasons and deuises for the inuasion intended: and for very certaine knowledge thereof, we neede not be beholding to *Francis Throckemorton* onely, (although he hath said much of them) but to others of better credite then himselfe.

That the Duke of Guyse did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the Realme with a forraine power, to be defrayed

frayed by the Pope and King of Spaine (a part of *M. Throckemortons* confession) and he inferreth the first discouerer thereof to her Maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will appeare false. For sithens he discouered the same, there haue bene diuers aduertisements thereof sent to her Maiestie from forraine Princes her Highnesse louing neighbours and Allies, as also by other good meanes and intelligences from her Ambassadours and seruants residing in other Countries.

If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of any such matter when he confessed the same; it hath no likelihood of truth: for *Throckemorton* was neuer knowen to be a Prophet to foretell things *de futuro*.

He resorted often to the Spanish Ambassadour, at the least twice in a weeke when he was in London: this ordinarie repaire could not be to conferre with the Ambassadour for the exchange of money for his brother, as he pretended at his araignement: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a Casket couered with greene veluet, very cunningly conueied out of his chamber by a maide seruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber and vnknowing thereof) which Casket not long after his apprehension, was by one *Iohn Meredith* a follower of *Francis Throckemorton*, conueyed to the handes of the Spanish Ambassadour: and why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why shoulde not the Casket haue bene kept still at home? and if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish Ambassadour? It is to be conceiued, that this Casket was not conueyed thither without the direction of *Francis Throckmorton*, though caried by *Meredith*, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were that were within the Casket, and of what danger to *Throckemorton* if they had bene disclosed, and therefore

meane to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readily be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the Casket, *Meredith* fledde: for in trueth he was priuie to the Treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them: to whom *Francis Throckmorton*, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne vp a paire to deuise a letter (which he was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in Cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, deliuered priuily into the hands of *Meredith*, either the Cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in Cipher by him written vnto her: therefore he trusted *Meredith* as a man priuie to his doings. You are also to vnderstande, that *Throckmorton* was in very great feare of the discouering of this Casket after his apprehension: for remayning two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him; before he was committed to the Towre, he was permitted to talke with a Sollicitor of his Lawe causes, who brought him certaine bookes drawen, or other like papers written, which hee made showe to peruse, but that was not the matter why he sent for his Sollicitors for in perusing of bookes, he conueyed into them a litle piece of paper, vpon which he had written in a role, *I would faine knowe whether my Casket be safe*, or to the like effect. The Sollicitor departing from him, and resorting to *Throckmortons* house not farre distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he tooke vp and deliuered to one of *Francis Throckmortons* men, but the Casket was alreadie conueyed to the Spanish Ambassadour: whereby you will perceiue what care he had of the Casket, and howe much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the

Casket,

Casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first, that euer he had any such Casket: but finding afterwards that the Casket was discouered, he confessed the Casket, and saide there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottish Queene from *Thomas Morgan* at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all as it is supposed.

That *Charles Paget* came ouer into the Realme to euil purposes as *Throckmorton* doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented, for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, *Paget* came ouer in secrete and suspicious maner, staied not aboue x. dayes, indeuoured in a sort to finde the disposition of *William Shelley* Esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the traitors, although *Paget* discoursed not directly his traiterous intents to *Shelley*, therefore all *Throckmortons* confessions were not forged or inuented.

But because the two papers produced at his arraignement, containing the description of the Hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantly condemne him, & are a manifest argumẽt of his priuity to the whole treason, you may not forget, y he acknowledged one of the papers written in the Secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denyed the other written in the Romane hande. In the which vnder the title of Cheshire &c. is said, *If vpon the landing of forraine Supplies, Chester shal be taken*: but what in your opinion might be vnderstoode by that sentence, *Chester shalbe taken*, when you shal compare y paper in Secretarie hand with y other writte in the Romane hande, intituled, *The Names of Noblemen and gentlemen in euery Comitie fitte to bee dealt withall in this matter*, (which in trueth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more inlarged,) The question is to be asked, *what matter*? The answere followeth necessarilie, *To assist the forraine forces that shall come to inuade the Realme*: for that there is an other title in that paper

other the names of the Hauens, &c. *Hauens in euery coast fitte for the landing of forces.* Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of Hauens, their entrailes, *Caues &c.*, what windes bring vnto them from Spaine, France and Flanders, were written and set downe by *Throckmorton*: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the Secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Is it not likely thinke you, that he would acquaint the Spanish Ambassador with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traiterous practises & deuises? Is your Hope heard, & thought his Cabinet of treasons to be most safely committed to his hands? It may bee thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be partially affected to excuse the treasons.

And now to shew vnto you what mynd this man hath caried towards his Maiestie, you are to be informed that *Francis Throckmorton* hauing, as he had discouered to her Maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in bewraying the rest, layd to some of the Commissioners vpon occasion of speach, *I wonder I had bene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confessed.* And being at other times sent vnto by her Maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons, hee vsed this argument to perswade her Maiestie that he had confessed all, saying that hitherto hee had already brought himselfe by his confessions within y danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruyne of his house and familie, hee wondered why there should be any conceite in her Maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeue that hee could discouer no more, at one time hee vsed these speaches following with great vehemencie: *Now I haue disclosed the secrets of her who was the dearest thing vnto me in*

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the worlde, (meaning the Scottish Queene) *and whereas I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions: I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could say ought against him: & sith I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged.* And when hee began first to confesse his treasons, which hee did most vnwillingly, after hee was entred into the declaration of them before al the Commissioners, vpon aduisement, hee desired hee might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded, and thereupon remouing aside from the place where hee sate by the Racke, hee vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede a perso l'honore* that is, He that hath failed his faith, hath lost his reputation: Meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to bee a Traitor, and not to reueile the treasons, and then began to confesse as you haue heard.

By this discourse containing the principal heads of his treasons, and the proofes & circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull myndes & affections, will cleerely perceiue howe impudently and vntruely he denyed at his arraignement the trueth of his confessions, charging her Maiestie with cruelty, & her ministers with vntruethes in their proceeding against him.

But the cause that moued him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his case was cleerer than by the intermission of the time betweene his confession made & his arraignement, grounding him selfe vpon a Statute of the 13. yeare of her Maiesties Reigne, in y which there are certaine treasons specified & made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for any of those offences committed within anie of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, whether the offendor be thereof indicted within fiue moneths next after the same offence committed, & shal not be arraigned for y same, vnlesse the offence be proued by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie con-

fession without violence: wherein he was greatly deceiued: For it was made manifest vnto him by the L. chiefe Iustice & other of the Iudges in Commission at his arial, that his treasons were punishable by a Statute of xxv. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe.

Herein his fancie failed him, and forgot the aduice giuen vnto him by some of the Commissioners, who (pitying his misfortune for diuerse good gifts of the minde appearing in him) aduised him that there was no way so readie for him to redeeme his life now by submission and acknowledging of his offence, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to followe, and now eftsoones after his condemnation by a new submission to the Queenes Maiestie the fourth of June hath reiumed that course. The submission ensuing written with his owne hand, followeth.

To her most excellent Maiestie, euen to her owne Royall handy.

MOst excellent Prince, and my most gracious Soueraigne, I am the most miserable of all your Maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustly condemned by the ordinarie and ordeely course of your Maiesties Lawes, there resteth no further meane of defence but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent Prince, graciously to accept the same, which prostrate in all humblesse, I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent Maiestie, beseeching the same, that as Iustice hath been deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the ende of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same some hope of grace and mercie for the great offence wherein I rest by your Maiesties Lawes iustly condemned. Some part I say of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, wherein most your distressed subiects haue tasted, & I the vnworthiest. And albeit the incomparable rashnesse of

embridled

vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loyall respect, which nature and duetie bounde me to owe vnto your Maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soueraigne, and thus the naturall care in me of the defence of my life mooued mee lately to the vntrue and vnduetifull gainsaying of some such pointes as had beene before by me in most humble sorte confessed: neuerthelesse, I most humblie beseech your most excellent Maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in regarde of your singular wisedome and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God and nature hath plentifully indewed you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your Maiestie to cõmiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your Maiesties subiectes, and graciously to graunt vnto me remission and forgiuenes; that not onely the most humblie confesse my selfe worthie of death, but also in shewe of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted minde, doe not craue at your Maiesties handes the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stande with your gratious good pleasure, but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly by your Maiesties lawes imposed vpon mee, if the same may bee any satisfaction to your Maiestie for the haynous cryme wherof I remaine by your Maiesties lawes iustly condemned, or any mitigation of your Maiesties indignation worthily conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour, and dying will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase both to your Maiestie, and to this your most flourishing common wealth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

Your Maiesties most wofull subiect in that he hath offended you.

Francis Throckemorton.

HE sent vnto her Maiestie together with the sayd submission, a declaration written likewise with his owne hand, contayning the effects of the most principall pointes of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onely the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect whereof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

The declaration.

THe onely cause why I coyned the practise first by me confessed, & vniustly touched my father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the paper written so long sithens, could not now by lawe haue touched me: but principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and haiens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish Ambassadour and me of this later practise.

Mine intelligence with the Scottish Queene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the Cipher I had from *Thomas Morgan* in Fraunce: the first letter I receiued by *Godfrey Fulgeam*, by whom also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by *F. A.* his hands, who as hee tolde mee, receiued them of the fellowe by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name I protest before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came vnto mee in the absence of *Fulgeam*, they were inclosed vnder a couertume from *Fulgeam*, & were deliuered me by the hands of *Robert Tunstead* his brother in Law, to whom I deliuered such as I had for the Scottish Queene, couered with a direction to *Fulgeam*, and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish Queene to the house of the said *Tunstead*, neere Buckstones, couered with a direction to *Tunstead*, and vnder a letter to *Fulgeã*. In such letters as came to me frõ the Scottish Q. were inclosed letters to *F. A.* many times, & most

William Ardington.

times

times some for *Thomas Morgan*, Her letters to mee contayned, &c. But before I returned mine answere to her, I vnderstoode of the death of the *Duke of Lenox*, and withal heard from *Morgan*, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had any, other then that the matters by mee written to *Morgan*, were by him imparted to my brother most times) that by the perswasion of the Pope and the King of Spaine, the *Duke of Guyse* had yeelded to performe the iourney in person: and that it was thought that the next way to attayne libertie for the Scottish Queene, and to reforme Scotlande, was to begin here in England; and therefore he desired to knowe from me, whether in mine opinion Catholiques woulde not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demaunde of tolerance in religion for them, should insue the wel performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horse and foote-men, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answere was, that as then, I sawe no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the Catholiques were timorous, dispersed, the matter perilous to be communicated to many, without which I saw not how any estimate could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an eminent danger to the Scottish Queene, whereof I sawe no remedie.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish Queene, whose answere was, that shee lately heard of that determination, &c.

Vpon my former answere to *Morgan*, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish Ambassadour, to whō I should bee recommended from thence: hereupon the said Ambassadour sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with very little force, considering the diffuse in men to warre, and troubles woulde so amaze them (as he thought) that they woulde be assoone

ouerthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such a case Catholikes would shewe themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteyning for them libertie of conscience: and therefore hee desired mee to acquaint him, what I thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprised.

I answered him, that as it seemed, the enterprise stood vpon great incertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the Catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazarde of the discouerie of the purpose: for as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawen into this action, that could carie any more then his ordinarie retinew: the onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as woulde bee drawen into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to leuie forces vnder colour of the Princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended vpon vncertaine grounides, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to bee sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should finde here, they might be able of themselues to encounter with any force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not bee lesse then 15000. men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisite that it shoulde be in the Countreys best affected, and furthest from her Maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the Northren parts on either side.

To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me obiected, he said he knewe no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken away by some 200. horse, which I tolde him I sawe

not

not to be possible, for that I knewe not any gentleman in those partes (which were men, if any, to perfourme it) that I durst wish to bee made acquainted with the matter before hande.

Finally, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the Hauens as particularly as I could: and within fewe dayes after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some different betweene the Pope and the king of Spaine for the charge, I tolde him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall warre, and by incursions so to anoy this state, as her Maiestie here should be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonably demaunded for the benefite of Catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some fewe were landed in Irelande, where, although they abid the same hazarde that the former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselues, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He vtterly reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande: but still hee was in minde to haue forces landed here, and therefore defired me verie earnestly to inquire particularly of the Hauēs on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what aps for fortification,

The next time that I went to the Spanish Ambassadour, he found himselfe agrieued that he vnderstood matters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that *Parsons* the Iesuite was gone to Rome, sent as he thought, to vnderstand the Popes minde.

Soone after came ouer my brother *Thomas*, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade me to come ouer, assuring mee that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene concerning her libertie, the Spanish Ambassadour sent for me, and tolde me of the comming ouer of *Mope* to view Sussex and the Hauens, and as he thought, to taste the best of accopt there: whereat he seemed to bee agrieued, for that such matters had not bene left to him, beeing one that they in France made beleeue that they relyed vpon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwardes, the Ambassadour tolde me, that it was *Charles Paget*, and that he was returned, but where he had bene hee knewe not, and at the same time I receiued a letter from *Morgan*, that it was *Paget*: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the Ambassadour, that his comming was not to moue any man, but onely to viewe the countrey, for that the mooning of any man was referred to him. I did so: and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaide names and Hauens, saying that so it were done exactly by the Spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihoode of the execution of the enterprise.

My brother hauing made an ende of his accompt with me, returned with this resolution betweene vs, (I protest before God,) if the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next Spring nowe past, that I woulde settle my things here and goe ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes, as also to fetch the

draught

draught of Gentlemē & Hauens for the moſt part of England, which had bene ſet downe by me aboue two yeres ſince, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my Studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I founde the note of names in Secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his Studie, putting downe *Cheſter* to be taken, in reſpect of the eaſineſſe as I thoughte, & the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promiſing him that by the next ſpring I woulde perfect it, if I taried ſo long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in ſuſpition, & my determination to be gone: but he preſſed the contrarie of me, aſſuring me, that if the enterpriſe proceeded not, he would then alſo depart.

Whether Sir *Frauncis Engleſielde* were a dealer in this practiſe or no, I know not: but ſure I am (for ſo the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour tolde me) that Sir *Frauncis* had intelligence with the ſaid Ambaſſadour all the time of his being here.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſadour tolde me that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie wel affected, and therefore he deſired to haue the hauens of that countrie. I tolde him that hereafter I would helpe him therevnto, although no good might be expected there, for the reaſons by me ſet downe in my firſt confeſſion: and hereupon the day before mine apprehenſion, the Ambaſſadour ſent me backe the ſaid paper in Romane hand, deſiring me to ſet downe the ſame at my leaſure more exactly, which was the cauſe that it was not in my greene veluet Casket. The writings in my Casket were ſuch as were by mee confeſſed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confeſſed.

I Moſt humbly beſeeche her moſt excellent Maieſtie, that the extremitie which I haue alreadie ſuſtained, and the cauſes by me diſcouered, to the ſafetie of her Maieſtie and the ſtate, not made knowen (as hath appeared) by any other meane then by my ſelfe, may craue at her handes,

the extending of her gratious commiseration towardes the relieuing of the lamentable estate of me, her Maiesties poore distressed subiect, & mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

Nowe iudge all yee, that be not peruersly affected, whether *Throckemorton* be iustly condemned, and whether his confessions (though as hee pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in Lawe against him: he hath conspired to ouerthrowe the state: to bring in strangers to inuade the Realme: to remoue her Maiestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the Crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her seate: but this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (peraduenture) be denyed: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discouered by torture, (the onely meanes left vnto Princes to discouer treasons and attemptes against their States and Persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspition, as in the case of *Throckemorton*, vpon sight of the plottes of hauens &c.) may the Law touch the traitour or not? If any man holde this question negatiuely, hold him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemie to the Queenes Maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound her enemies.

FINIS.